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WALTER HEIL
AND
FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

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Lowell, Mass.

TWO NEWLY DISCOVERED
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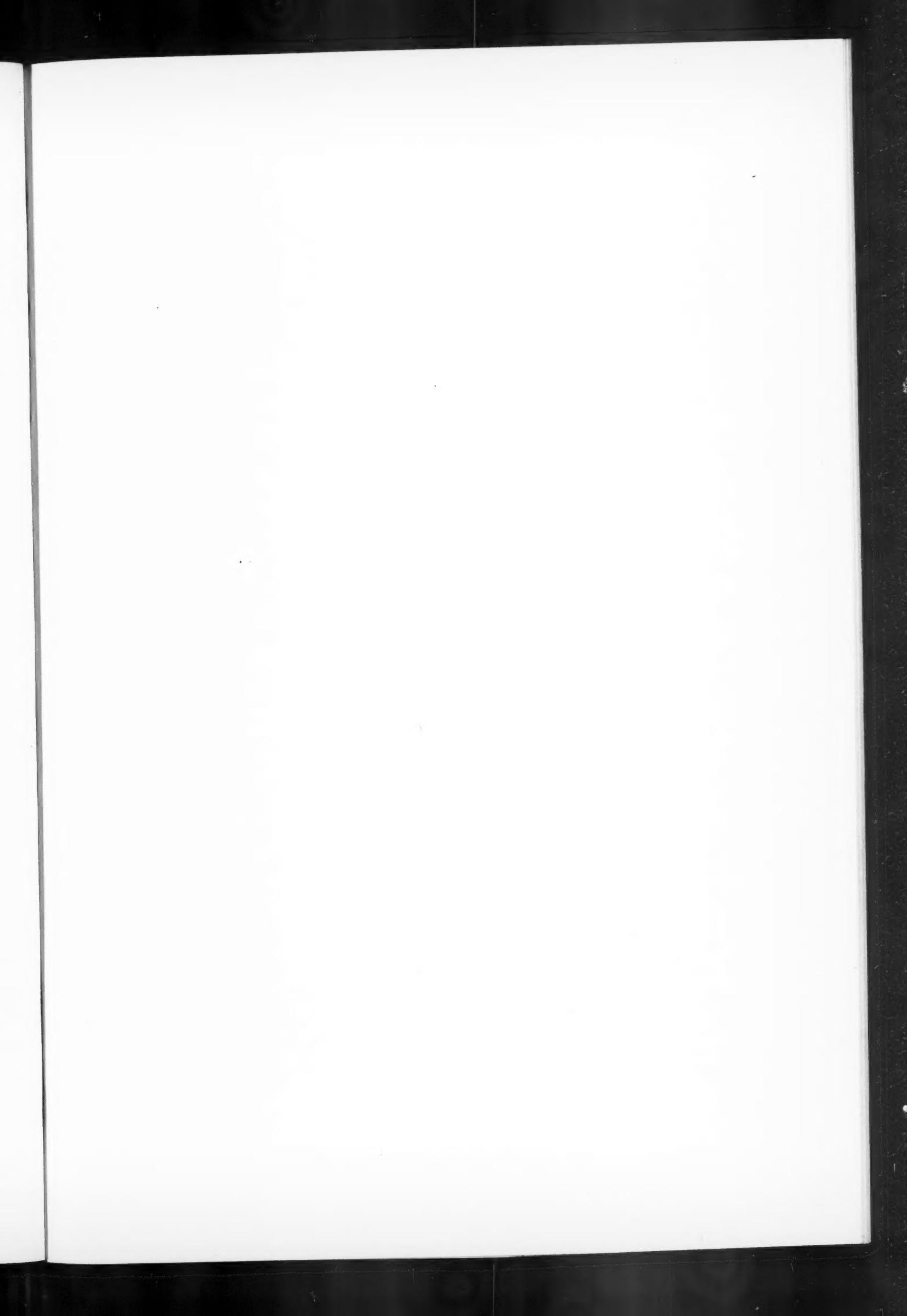
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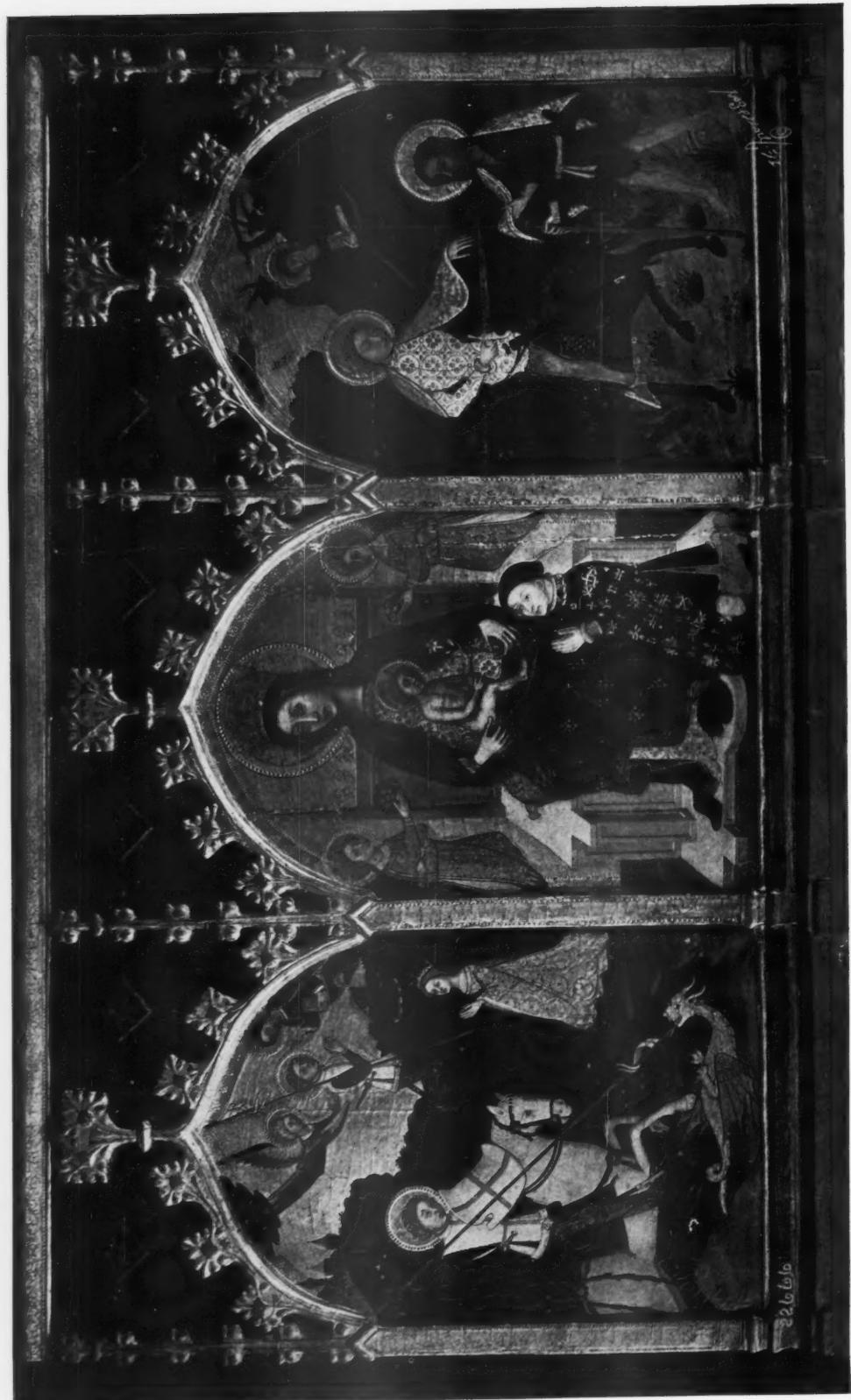


FIG. 2. CATALAN-SICILIAN TRPTYCH
Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum, Boston



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A PRIMITIVE AT BOSTON
AND
THE DOUBLE CROWN OF ARAGON

By A. VAN DE PUT

London

In 1910 I propounded the identity of the Crown *impresa* of the Borja or Borgia family with the Double Crown, assumed as a device by the last kings of Aragon of the house of Barcelona, John I. (1387-97) and Martin the elder (1397-1410), and the latter's son Martin, king of Sicily (d. 1409). The *Corona doble d'Arago*, if restored to its place in the history of royal devices, with the help of documents in the Barcelona and Palermo archives that had been published by Coroleu, Beccaria and Prince Lanza di Scalea, could not be illustrated, it was found, from any contemporary source. The Double Crown of the Borgas, left to assert itself by means of figurations at the castle of Gandia (cf. Fig. 1), and the Appartamenti Borgia in the Vatican, in the light of an extraordinary series

(Copyright, 1932, by Frederic F. Sherman)

of historical coincidences, as a revival of the old Barcelonese device, could not, conversely, be given the name by which it was known to the family of Pope Alexander VI. The publication of the theory¹ having received the dignity of translation into Catalan and notice of a sort in Italy, without exciting controversy as to its main conclusions (much less of eliciting a statement that an example or delineation of the original *Corona doble* was known to exist), it appeared that a sound interpretation had been given to the facts, so far as these were known. And now, after an interval of twenty years, evidence lifting the theory itself into the domain of certainty may at last be said to be forthcoming.

To the Trustees of the Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum and Mr. Philip Hendy I am indebted for the photograph of a triple composition (Fig. 2), or triptych in that collection, which figured in the Émile Gavet sale, Paris, 1897 (no. 747), as a North Italian work, but is with reason noticed at some length by Mr. Chandler Rathfon Post in his recent book on the early Spanish schools, in connexion with the Catalan master, Jaime Serra and his followers. Mr. Post allows that the painting contains factors incompatible with an attribution to Spain. He points out that if one could be certain of their Spanish and not Italian origin these panels would have to be placed in the school of the Serras, and in the following of Jaime rather than Pedro Serra. The nude Infant Christ when enthroned with the Madonna; he recognises as hard to place in Spain, there is the strange iconography of the wing subjects . . . (left) St. George's combat with the dragon, and the unusual scene of his instruction by Christ and his encouragement by an angel; (right) St. Martin and Christ disguised as the beggar, with demons flogging St. Anthony, in the background.²

Jaime Serra flourished, so far as the known dates of his career can be relied upon, from 1361 until 1375 or later. But the question whether the triptych should not be assigned to yet another of the schools under the influence of Catalan painting rather than to those of Majorca or Valencia . . . both of which Mr. Post cites in connexion with details of its execution . . . would seem to me to require consideration when what can be learned of the donor's identity, as revealed by the insignia upon his dress, is gone into. A Coronation of the Virgin between SS. Francis and George, of the year 1414, in the Palermo Museum, may be instanced for

¹The Aragonese double crown and the Borja or Borgia device. London (Gryphon Club), 1910. Catalan edition: La corona doble Aragonesa y la divisa de los Borjas. Barcelona (Rivista de la Asociacion artistica-arqueologica Barcelonesa, VI, 349, etc.), 1910.

²A history of Spanish painting, II, 312; III, 154. 1930. The triptych is described in Mr. P. Hendy's 'Catalogue of the exhibited paintings and drawings (The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum)', 1931, 331, Studio of Jaime or Pedro Serra.

such artistic contacts as the types represented, the drawing of the hands, etc.³ I need not elaborate the subject of the penetration of Sicily by Catalan culture and of its beginnings in the late thirteenth century when Trinacria passed to a younger branch of the line of Barcelona-Aragon. When, in 1390, Mary of Sicily, the heiress of Frederic III., last sovereign of this branch, was contracted to Martin the younger, son of Martin of Aragon, the *Corona doble* symbolised the union of the Sicilian and Aragonese crowns in the house of Barcelona.

The donor's identity may, then, be sought in the devices powdered over the maunches or long, hanging sleeves of his surcoat, an exaggeration of fashion that, falling well within the first half of the fifteenth century, would correspond in the western Mediterranean to the reign of Alfonso V. of Aragon and Sicily (1416-58). One of these devices is seen also upon the collar of the surcoat, itself black, which is encircled by a twisted chain with a rose (?) pendant. A red cross upon the donor's breast . . . and one remarks that one leg of his hose is red also the other white . . . is probably that of the order of Montesa, with which the old Barcelonese order of St. George had been incorporated in 1400. All the insignia upon the sleeves being repeated and interspersed with Gothic letters, the different items may conveniently be taken in succession from the shoulder down. They are (see the enlargement, Fig. 3) three in number,—(i) an interlaced figure of strapwork enclosing an l; (ii) a plant with budded stalks and leaves spreading round the bases of its stems; (iii) two conventionalised representations of crowns, in gold, and base to base as with the Borja crown device. The accompanying letters may be read in two different directions, as they are actually dispersed over the two maunches and left arm of the donor. To take (a) those upon his left arm and maunch as a separate group, there may be read—*n e t a r*; his right maunch, only partially visible—*d de e*. Or, the letters may be taken in (b) the order in which they fall across both maunches together—*n e t d a de r e*.

In one case, a French motto—*ne tarde* (?); in the other, a Catalan style commencing *net* (grandson) . . . ; the whole, in its probably correct reading—*net de re(i) d ('') a (rago)*.

As will be seen in connexion with the scenes chosen for representation in the wings, the probabilities are decisively in favour of the second reading. Who is the "grandson of a king of Aragon" whose devices, at the time when this triptych was executed, include so little that is not

³R. van Marle, The development of the Italian schools of painting, VIII, 478, fig. 313.

referable to the old Barcelonese regime; for (iii) is certainly the *Corona doble* of John I. and of the Martins, which, except in so far as it may still be worn by the last scions of the Barcelona kings (the count of Urgel, the duke of Gandia or marquis of Villena, the count of Prades), and others whose expectations of election to the vacant thrones, had failed at Caspe in 1412, will not figure again till the days of the Borjas. The other device (i), unrecognisable among those of Alfonso V., whose father, the supplanter of the Barcelona line, Ferdinand I., had in 1403, instituted the order of the Jar and Griffin, may just possibly represent the *Correia*, an as yet unrecognised device founded by Martin of Aragon in the last years of the fourteenth century, but not known to have been conferred, as the late Señor de Osma pointed out, in his comprehensive study of old Spanish royal devices, except upon women.⁴ Be it said that none but the most sporadic records of the conferring of these insignia upon individuals have been preserved. The circumstance that the *Corona doble* is here seen to be displayed upon the dress, rather than worn in the shape of a jewel, seems to argue something in the way of a proprietary interest in the insignia which the wearing of it as a badge or jewel, conferred for the purpose, would not amount to. In any case there can be no question of the *Corona doble*'s loss of status under the new dynasty of Trastamara, which is not known, when it succeeded to the thrones of Aragon and Sicily in 1412, to have taken to itself any of the Barcelonese badges. It is therefore all the more curious that an inventory of the effects of Alfonso V. as *primogenit* or heir-apparent, in 1413, should preserve the only description, so far as I have been able to discover one, of the old Double Crown.⁵ Among the plate is a *confiter* or receptacle for sweetmeats with a cup upon it; at the top of the latter was a *Corona doble* with what are described as *claravolles* or spaces pierced (claires-voies) through the middle. On the base or foot of the cup was a crown with a *claravoya* above it. This object had almost certainly come to Alfonso from the house of Barcelona; Ferdinand, his father, had of course been elected to the Aragonese throne as son of Leonora, who if queen of Castile, was also sister of John I. and Martin the elder, of Aragon.

Federigo (who was Sicilian born, but I shall refer to him hereafter in the Catalan) otherwise Fadrich d'Arago, or of Aragon, bastard of Mar-

⁴G. de Osma, Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca, III. Las divisas del rey. 1909.

⁵Anuari d'Estudis catalans, 1907, 172. Inventory of the prince Alfonso, 1413, no. 246: Item un confiter ab sobrecop . . . en la copa del dit confiter ha en lo mig un senyal de esmalta ab armes reales, en la vora de la dita copa ha una corona doble ab claravolles per lo mig, . . . e apres lo peu del dit confiter . . . al entorn del dit peu ha una corona, ab una claravoya deius la corona en fi del dit peu (etc.).

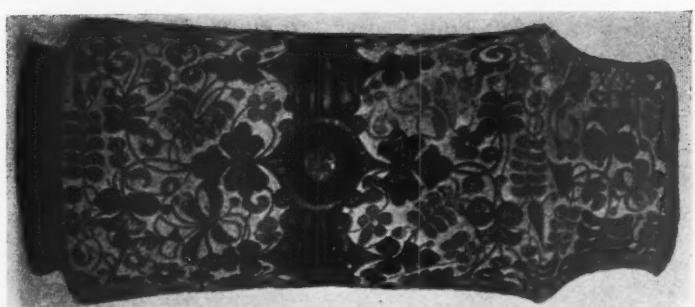


FIG. 4. VALENCIAN DRUG
POT WITH DOUBLE CORONA
Hispanic Society, New York

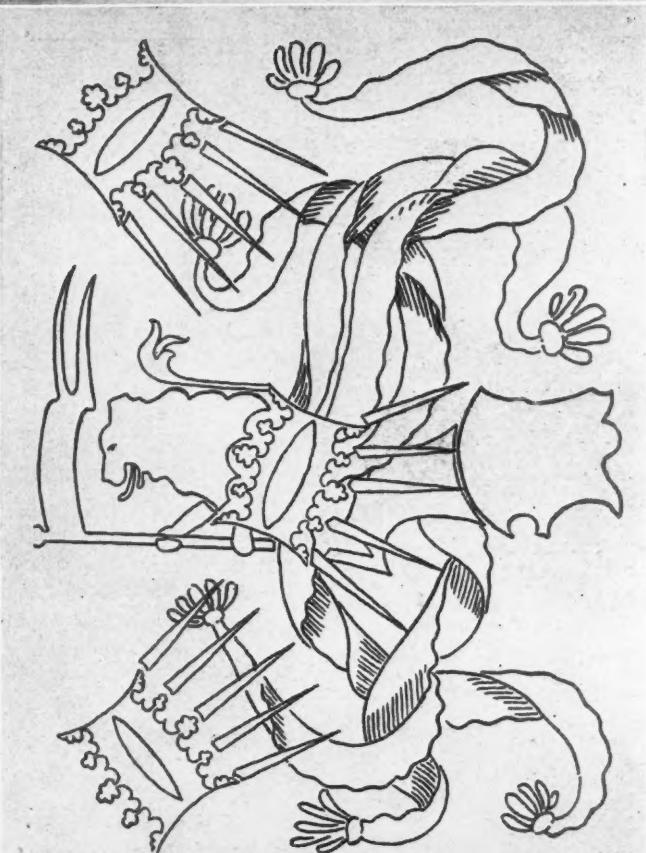
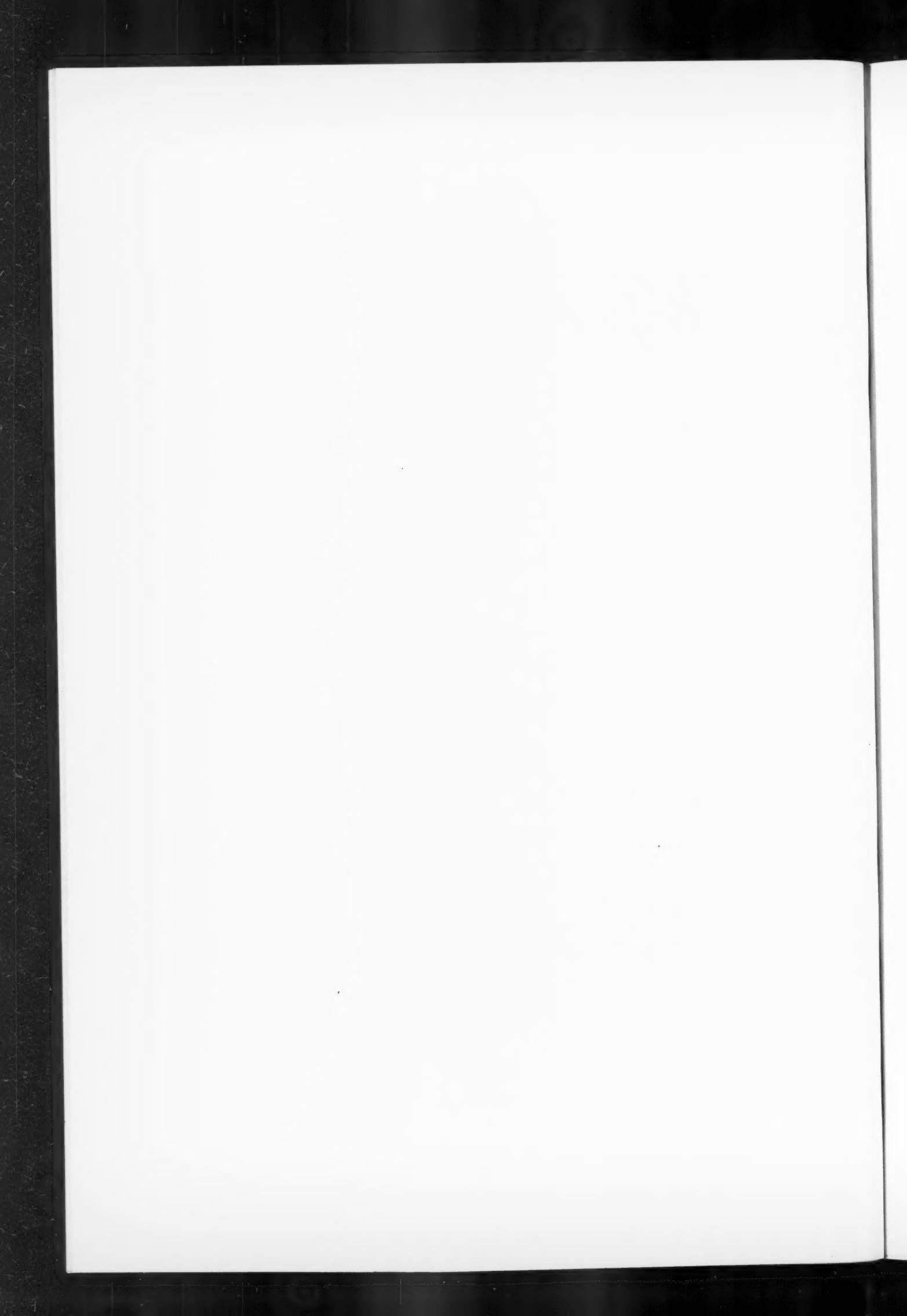


FIG. 1. THE ROOJA DOUBLE CROWN AT GANDIA



FIG. 3. ENLARGEMENT (FROM FIG. 2)
SHOWING THE CORONA DOUBLE OF
ARAGON AT THE CENTRE OF
THE MAUNCH



tin the younger, king of Sicily, is the one person to whom the lettering of the device, together with its implications, applies. The defect of his birth did not prevent him—we are in the “age of the bastards”—from standing, as one of the famous group of competitors for the crowns of Aragon and Sicily, which took shape at the death of his father in 1409 (25 July). He is said to have been secretly the favourite of his grandfather Martin the elder, king of Aragon and Sicily, who though he did not go so far as to nominate Fadrich as his successor, yet helped him to obtain legitimation for the Sicilian succession from the Aragonese antipope Benedict XIII. (d. 1409), the kinsman of Martin's first consort, Maria de Luna. Fadrich's candidature could never have stood a chance of endorsement by the representatives of Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia and Majorca, the components of the Aragonese crown, when claimants like Jayme of Urgel (the right heir), the old Alfonso of Gandia, the count of Prades—all princes of Aragon; or, Louis of Calabria and Ferdinand of Castile, the victor of Antequera (the successful candidate)—who derived from females, offered themselves for election. Martin of Aragon and (II.) of Sicily died in 1410 (May 31,) and the Castilian was in due course elected.

These historical considerations are necessary to an appreciation of the soul or motto of the devices on our donor's robe. Fadrich was, if a *net bort* (bastard grandson), a *net de rey*, the which relationship could be claimed by none of the Aragonese referred to; nor, needed to be asserted by Louis, the Angevin, or Ferdinand, the Castilian, both notoriously of royal birth. The same consideration applies even though the artist can be shown to have rearranged, probably by inadvertence, some of the letters forming the “soul” of the device combination on the donor's surcoat which are also legible as a whole in the order as follows:—*n e t . . de re(i) d (') a (rago).*

Grandsons of kings of Aragon, Louis and Ferdinand certainly were, through their mothers. Yet the peculiar appropriateness to the ancestry of Fadrich, of the subjects depicted in the side panels, would indicate him as above all in question here. We have, in the dexter wing, St. George, in the sinister, St. Martin; patron of the Aragonese realm and of the house of Barcelona, the one; name-patron of the last two monarchs of that line, the other. To these, his grandfather and father, the donor asserts his relationship.

A certain likeness to the thistle plant, cognisance of the great Catalan house of Cardona, borne by the remaining device (ii), fails to receive corroboration when the numerous marriages of the Cardonas with Ara-

gonese princesses are checked for any issue of such a union that might style himself *net de rey*. There were Cardona great grandsons of kings of Aragon and Navarre; but I find no nearer descents, whether among the counts of Cardona, or in their Sicilian branch, in which the alliances with Aragon occurred. The text of a marriage contract between Fadrich d'Arago and a daughter of Jayme of Aragon, count of Prades, named Violante, is extant; it was drawn up some two months before the death of Martin of Sicily in 1409, but was apparently never carried into effect, as the lady is recorded in all pedigrees as the wife of Bernard de Cabrera, second count of Modica in Sicily. At the same time Fadrich had a half sister, also Violante.⁶ There is some similarity, in the plant depicted, to the violet.

The remaining biographical details of Fadrich de Aragon are somewhat meagre, so far as we can be said to know them. The son of Tarsia Rizzari of Catania, he was born, if a statement in his father's will can be accepted as accurate, about 1402. By that will (1409) he received the county of *Luna* in Aragon, (*l* is the initial in the first device) which had belonged to his paternal grandmother, Maria de Luna, the elder Martin's first wife. After the election of Ferdinand of Castile as king in 1412 the realm of Aragon, became hardly a congenial place for a Barcelonese pretender, and his fate recalls that of the count of Urgel, done to death probably by the Infantes of Aragon, Alfonso V.'s brothers, in 1433. We find the count of *Luna* in Castile, lord of Cuellar and Villalon, and he is created duke of Arjona in Andalusia in 1430. Is the long arm of John, then king-consort of Navarre, discernible in the likewise obscure end that came to Fadrich at the castle of Brazuellas near Olmedo? where he was confined (1434), on a charge of treason—plotting to secure leadership of the troops at Seville, to seize the castle of Triana and to plunder the rich Genoese colony at Seville. His death follows as a matter of course, almost, in 1438. The previous duke of Arjona had met with a similar end at Peñafiel in 1430; how he lived—an amazing tale—can be gathered from the Catalogue of the Liria Palace Collections (Madrid, 1898). I do not remember to have met with any records of works of art executed for the second Arjona, so that our

⁶Archivio storico siciliano, 111, 422 (will of Martin of Sicily); 430 (marriage contract between Fadrich, count of *Luna*, and Violante of *Prades*, 1409). For Fadrich's birth and career, see G. Beccaria, *Spigolature sulla vita privata di Re Martino in Sicilia*, Palermo, 1894; also Mariana, *Historia gen. de España*, 1790-91, VI, lib. xix, cap. xix-xxi; VII, lib. xx, cap. i-v, quoting p. 458, Gómez de Cibdareal. The half-sister Violante married, as his second wife, Don Enrique de Guzman, second count of Niebla (drowned, as we have seen, before Gibraltar in 1436), then widower of a Figueroa. Barrantes Maldonado records her repudiation, and second union with another Guzman, of the line of Orgaz, who had been a canon of Toledo and of Seville; their daughter, Cath. de Aragón y Guzman, lady of La Torre de Hortaleza, married a Portocarrero.

altar-piece must speak for itself. The heyday of the Aragonese *Corona doble* lasted from its foundation in 1392 until the death of the elder Martin in 1410, though it unquestionably lingered among the Barcelonese male representatives until at all events the death of Yolande of Aragon, mother of René of Anjou, in 1442. It is a far retrospect hence or, from 1434 even, when Fadrich of Aragon was imprisoned at Brazuellas, to 1375 and the last mention of Jaime Serra. As regards the nationality of the Fenway Court triptych, we are reminded that if Spanish painters settled in Sicily, there is evidence of the contrary having taken place, also. Until the Sicilian school is charted on the scale adopted by Mr. Post for Spain, it would be rash to arrive at a decision one way or the other.

NOTE.—The figuration of the *Corona doble* upon a piece of plate enumerated in the inventory of Don Alfonso, 1413, heir-apparent of Ferdinand I. might suggest, though I am unaware of any record of it, that that device was used for a time by the new dynasty. In the group portrait of an emperor, a pope, a king and a queen, with other potentates, reproduced in Carderera y Solano (i, pl. 39) the king, said to represent Ferdinand I. of Aragon, wears an unusual collar, far more suggestive in its design of the *Corona doble* than of the order of the Jarra, with which latter it is there sought to identify it. The picture undoubtedly reflects the social hierarchy brought into prominence by the council of Constance, 1414-18, in which Ferdinand was directly concerned.

With these sparse renderings of the old *Corona doble* must be grouped its figurations upon drug-vases, produced in Valencian Hispano-Moresque (Manises), temp. Alfonso V. (Fig. 4). And here one may recall that the line of Gandia-Denia-Prades, to which the competitor, Alfonso of Gandia, *el duque real*, belonged, lasted until 1434, when the famous Enrique de Villena died, having outlived his uncle Alfonso, a son of *el duque real*, some ten years. These and the figurations of the Double crown upon our donor's surcoat together indicate that the rays darting from the fleurons of the lower crown were an addition made to the device when adopted by the Borja (or Borgias), dukes of Gandia in 1485.

Mr. Hendy has drawn my attention to the similarity of (a) the top-most device (i, above: the suggested *correia*) upon the donor's maunch, to a section of the insignia which encircle the six lozenges (each bearing a pierced mullet or star of eight points) which are displayed among the crocketted frames of the three panels. The similarity appears indubitable; but, are these mullets certain armorial, and not to be referred to the symbolism of the patroness of the triptych, the Blessed Virgin?

A VALENCIAN MADONNA
OF THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY¹

By ALFRED NICHOLSON

Cambridge, Massachusetts

The primitive painting of Spain is just emerging from the Vasari stage of attribution—a situation due to the scarcity of documentary material, to the confusion of foreign influences, and to the comparative fewness of recent critics and historians who have applied themselves to the subject. Moreover, the traditional obscurity of the mediaeval church artisan seems to have persisted longer in Spain than elsewhere; and the depredations of the following centuries have of course increased the difficulties. Thus a majority of extant works from the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries will always remain anonymous, and the student must usually be content with recognizing the characteristics of certain schools, and with grouping works in the orbits of a few names of known or surmised importance.

A panel recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 1.) is no exception to this general rule; for although it shows enough points in common with the fairly well authenticated remnants of two painters who are known to have worked in Valencia about 1400, and also with certain anonymous works of that region and period, these resemblances are not sufficiently idiosyncratic to allow one to identify the authorship of this panel with that of any other known work.

The tall and gracefully poised Madonna, once doubtless the central figure of a retable, stands within a narrow Gothic frame. She bears a flowering lily stalk in her right hand, and on her left arm the Child, who turns apparently to bless the aged donor at her feet. The six small side panels set in the frame contain two adoring and four music-making angels; and within the pinnacles above these are two half length male figures bearing scrolls which proclaim them to be the prophets Hosea—to the observer's left—and Ezekiel to the right; while the head of King David appears in a raised medallion on the apex of the central panel. So much for bald iconography.

The total effect of the panel is one of sumptuous refinement, subtlety of pattern, and subdued richness of coloring. The slightly northern cast of the Virgin's face is touched with a languid idealism, and its

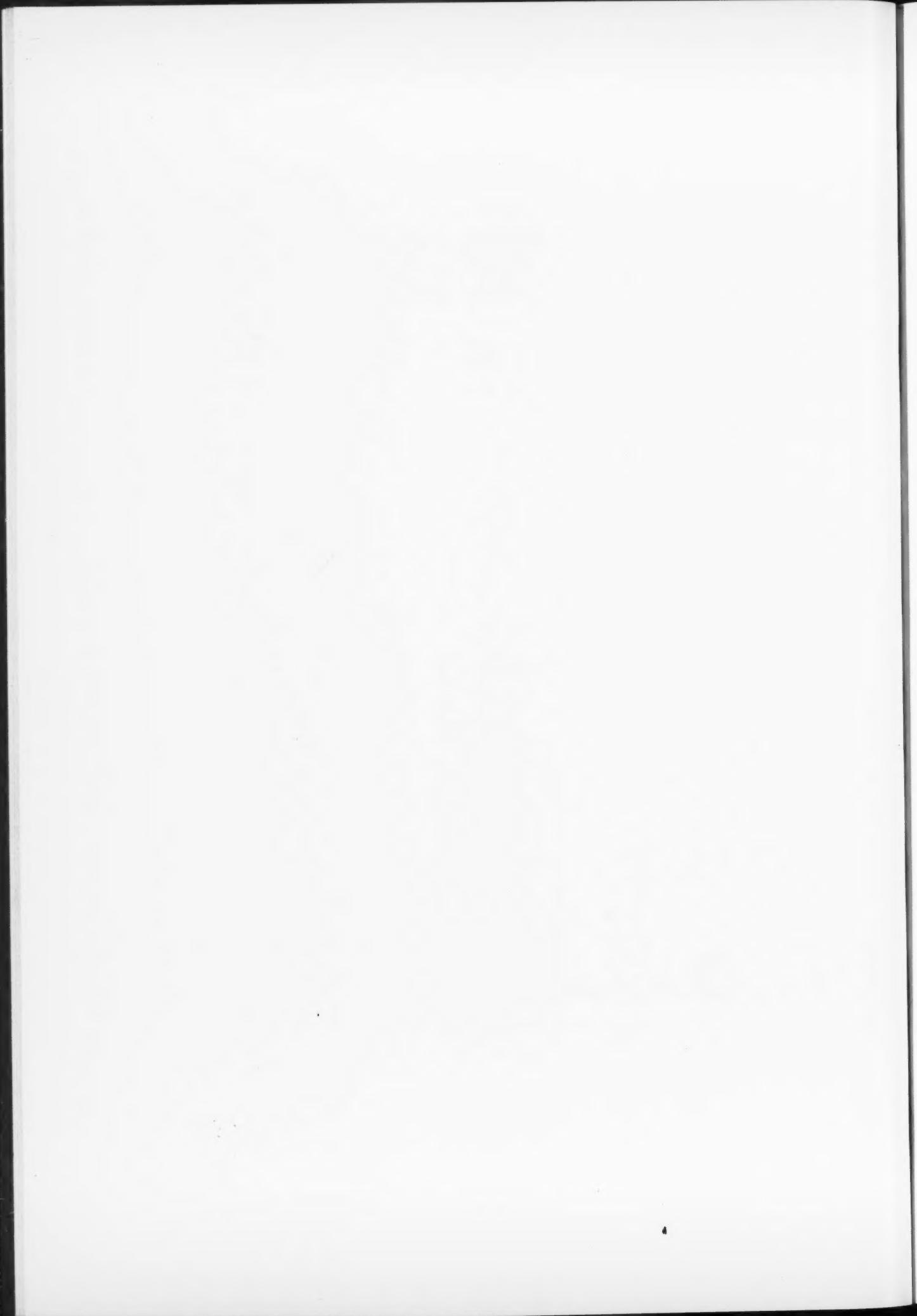
¹This article is to a great extent archaeologically dependent upon the researches of Dr. Chandler R. Post, and the student should be referred to Vol. III of his *A History of Spanish Painting*, and to the appendix of his forthcoming Vol. IV. The writer is grateful to him for his advice and for the use of certain of the photographs here reproduced.



FIG. 1. VALENCIAN SCHOOL: MADONNA AND CHILD
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 3. VALENCIAN SCHOOL: RETABLE OF
SAINT BARBARA
Bosch Collection, Barcelona





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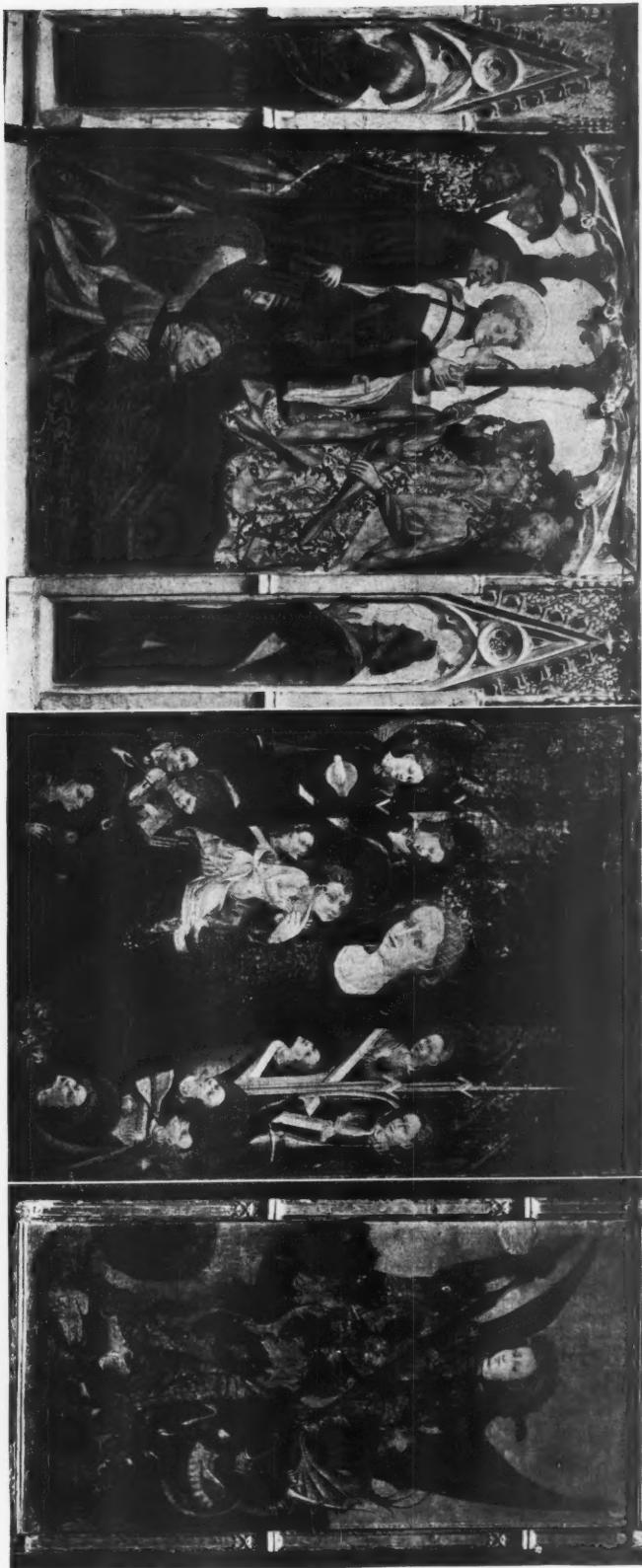
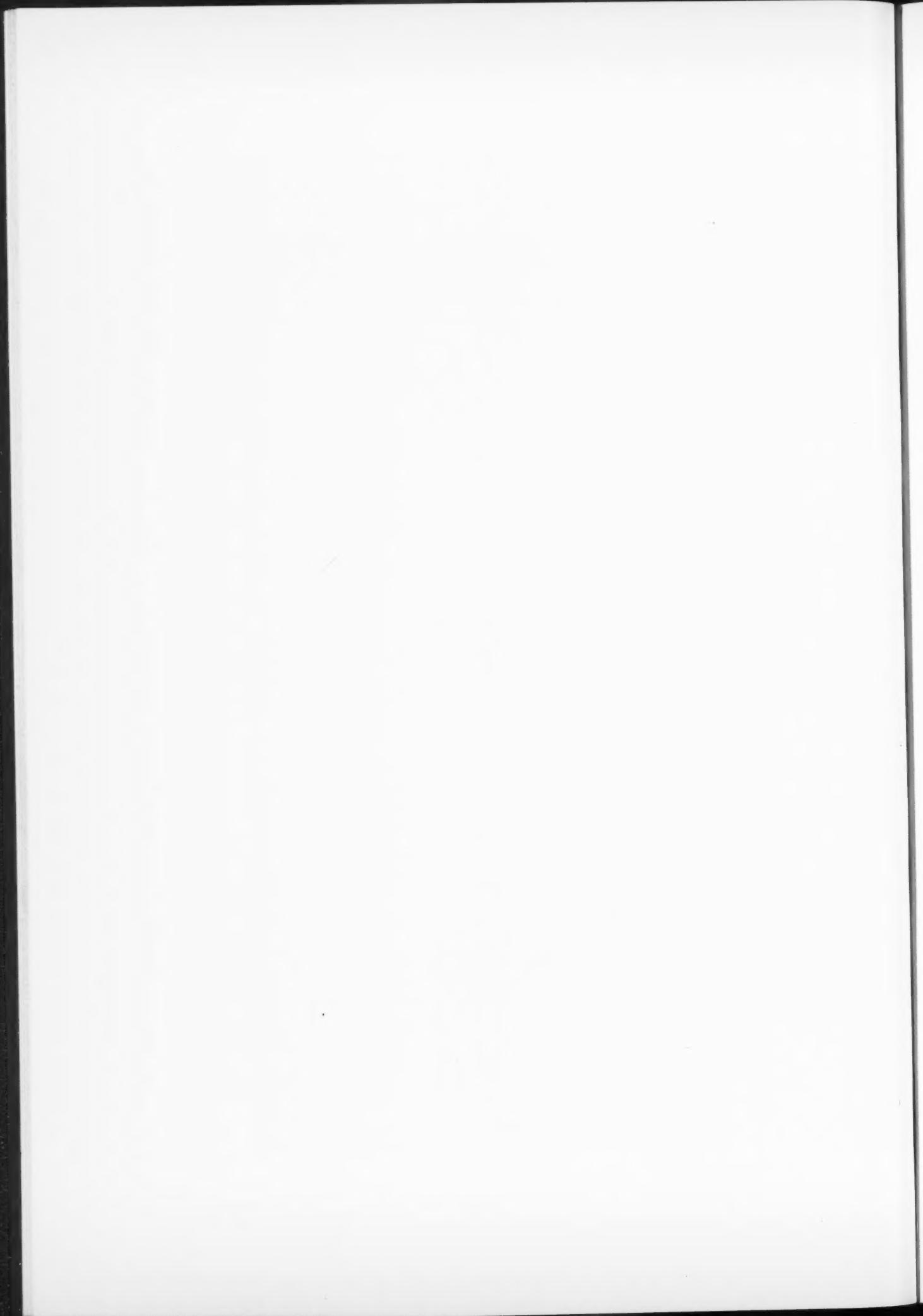


FIG. 4. ANDRES MARZAL DE SAS: St. GEORGE
DRINKING THE CUP OF POISON
Cathedral, Valencia

FIG. 2. VALENCIAN MADONNA
Gualino Collection, Turin

FIG. 5. VALENCIAN SCHOOL:
St. MICHAEL
National Gallery, Edinburgh



pallor relieved by the faint carnation of cheeks and lips, and the red gold of her hair. She is clothed in a long brocaded robe of gold and white floral pattern, which appears at her breast and again at her feet. Over this is placed the façade-like mantle of cobalt blue contrasting with the gold of the stiffly serpentine vine *motif*, the nervously linear hem of the drapery, and the elaborately tooled gold of the background, which, however, does not extend to the base of the panel, and shows a conventionalized attempt to suggest space for the figures. One should also note on the mantle the subsidiary dark floral patterns within the arcs of the vine, the stem of which is repeatedly severed lest it should assume an undue accent. Another interesting and quite unusual feature is the skein of incised and calligraphic lines—barely visible in the reproduction—which run throughout the mantle, and could scarcely have aided in determining folds because of the uncompromising flatness of the vine pattern. The slender late Gothic Child is half draped in cloth of reddish purple, and the diminutive donor wears an ermine lined mantle of the same color. The folds of their drapery, the attenuated grace of the Virgin's posture—indeed everything about the panel proclaims it to be an excellent example of what is loosely known as the International Style, combined with the fine sense for pattern characteristic of Spanish works of this period.

Unfortunately the present writer has been unable to trace any clue as to the exact provenience of this panel, and its Valencian origin is suggested only by stylistic comparison. Two painters whose names appear in several Valencian documents circling the year 1400 are Pedro Nicolau and Andrés Marzal de Sas. Since, however, there are only two extant panels which may be related with some certainty to this documentary mention, and since these painters at times seem to have worked together, the evidence for distinguishing their styles is rather meagre.

In the small parish church of Sarrión, near Teruel, is a Madonna Enthroned which may be attributed with some security to Pedro Nicolau, since he is known to have received payment for a retable for this church in the first years of the century, and the painting is certainly a work of this period. Analogies between this and the Boston panel may be found in the heads of the Virgins—as in the general cast of the features, the large ear, and the hair drawn back in striations from the high and convex forehead—in the folds above the left knee of the Sarrión Virgin and the corresponding drapery of the Child in the Boston panel, and in the generic affinities of the angels. But perhaps for our purposes a

better piece for comparison is a painting now in the Gualino collection in Turin (Fig. 2.). This panel shows so many minute similarities in design to the Sarrión Madonna Enthroned, that one cannot evade the conclusion that both were elaborated from the same cartoon, whether or not by the same hand. Here the general affinities with the Boston panel will probably be more evident, at least in the present reproduction. It should be noted how the robes of the Boston and Gualino Virgins open to disclose their vestures, and how the haloes of all the figures are set high upon their heads. This latter peculiarity, moreover, though not restricted to Valencian art, appears frequently in works of this region and period. But in comparison with the two works which may be most closely associated with Nicolau, the Boston picture seems, at least to the present writer, more sophisticated, in the best sense of that unpleasant word. The Virgin is more etherealized and aristocratic in aspect, and the sense for pattern is somewhat subtler—qualities which usually suggest the later stages of a given aesthetic tradition, and point towards the conclusion that the Boston Madonna is a slightly later work.

In the new *sala capitular* of the Cathedral of Valencia is a small panel depicting the Incredulity of St. Thomas, which was probably part of a retable to that saint, for which Andrés Marzal de Sas is known to have received payment in 1400.² The figure types of this panel, with their gaunt and long-nosed faces, and their attitudes and draperies contorted at times almost to caricature, aid in the assumption that their painter was actually of Teutonic origin, or a Saxon, as his name would seem to imply. This is the only remnant which may now be associated in any way with the documentary mention of this painter; but the great retable of St. George in the Victoria and Albert Museum is in part stylistically similar, and offers a much larger and more aesthetically varied field for comparison. It seems probable, for reasons not necessary to consider here, that this retable was commissioned by the military Order of the Centenar de la Pluma, and once stood in the now demolished Church of San Jorge in the city of Valencia; and it is beyond all doubt a Valencian work. The section here reproduced, showing St. George drinking the cup of poison (Fig. 4.), was chosen chiefly because of resemblances between the debonair saint and the angels—especially the two lower ones—of the Boston panel. But the harsher manner that we have associated with the work of Marzal de Sas is also evident in the exaggerated features of most of the other figures. Traces of this manner,

²For illustration see Post, *op. cit.*, vol III, Fig. 268.

though somewhat subdued, appear in the prophets within the pinnacles of the Boston painting, and in the head of David.

Two other Valencian works which offer somewhat better general comparisons with the Boston Madonna are a St. Barbara in the Bosch Collection in Barcelona (Fig. 3.), and a St. Michael in the National Gallery at Edinburgh (Fig. 5.). These two are sufficiently close to each other in facial modeling and design to suggest a common authorship, though the face of St. Barbara has been softened by repaint. In comparing the Boston Virgin with the St. Barbara one should especially notice analogies in the disposition and silhouette of their mantles. But in all three panels there are analogies of pattern, and approximate similarities of feature are again visible, as in the convex foreheads with thinly arched eyebrows, the languid eyes, the large ears and the small rounded chins. And the haloes are set high to circle the crowns. As already mentioned, however, the almost excessive refinement of the Boston panel suggests—though by no means dogmatically—that it was painted towards the end of this particular Valencian tradition. But the date should probably not be set later than 1425, and certainly before the transforming influence of Jacomart in the middle of the century.

The standing attitude of the Madonna with the Child on her arm, though not usual in painting, is by no means restricted to this instance. Various examples from this period might be quoted, and ample precedence is of course to be found in Gothic statuary. Those who wish to see Italian influence in this panel may argue that Starnina almost certainly worked in Valencia at the turn of the century. But since nothing is really known about Starnina's style, except that he was one of the late and probably quite Gothicized *giotteschi*, there is no basis for discussion. Moreover, the Boston panel shows more affinities with the northern International Style, which was already tempered by Italian influence, and which here assumes, after all, a comparatively indigenous expression.

A MINIATURE AND AN OIL PORTRAIT

BY MATTHEW PRATT

BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

New York City

To the brief list of Matthew Pratt's known paintings, numbering less than a score, including those attributed to him, I am able to add a signed miniature, the only ivory so far recorded from his hand. It is circular in form, measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter and is signed at the right in red "M. Pratt".

The miniature pictures the two oldest daughters of Warner and Hannah Fairfax Washington, his second wife; Mildred, the eldest, at about ten and Catharine at about eight. It was presumably painted in 1775 or 1776. Shown at half-length, standing, at the left we see Catharine in a white dress with a high ruffled collar, her left arm about her sister. At the right is Mildred in a red dress trimmed with white, with a white ribbon belt, white waist-front and white ruffled collar. Catharine has light brown hair, parted in the center, light brown eyes and fair complexion, and wears small red ear-rings. Mildred has dark brown hair and eyes, fair complexion, and wears gold ear-drops and a long strand of yellow beads about her neck, which show against the white of her waist. Her right arm is about her sister, the hand resting on her shoulder.

Historically the miniature is important though artistically it is hardly a successful performance. The children are neither of them really attractive and the artist has hardly, one feels, pictured them to advantage. Artistically the ivory leaves much to be desired both in the way of technic and color. The coloring is neither clean nor pure and the free use of Chinese or opaque white is most unfortunate. Indeed the work has little of the precious quality of miniature portraiture.

Warner Washington, who moved to Fairfax, Virginia, after his second marriage, was born in 1715, the son of John Washington of Bridges Creek, Virginia, born 1692, and the grandson of Laurence Washington of Bridges Creek, born 1661. The relationship of the children pictured to George Washington is therefore well established.

The recent list of Matthew Pratt's works published in "The Antiquarian" makes no mention of the very fine portrait of Captain John Barry, twenty-five by thirty inches, which was painted in April 1776 for John Nixon of Philadelphia, a characteristic work from his hand which is now the property of Mr. William C. Barry. Captain Barry is pictured

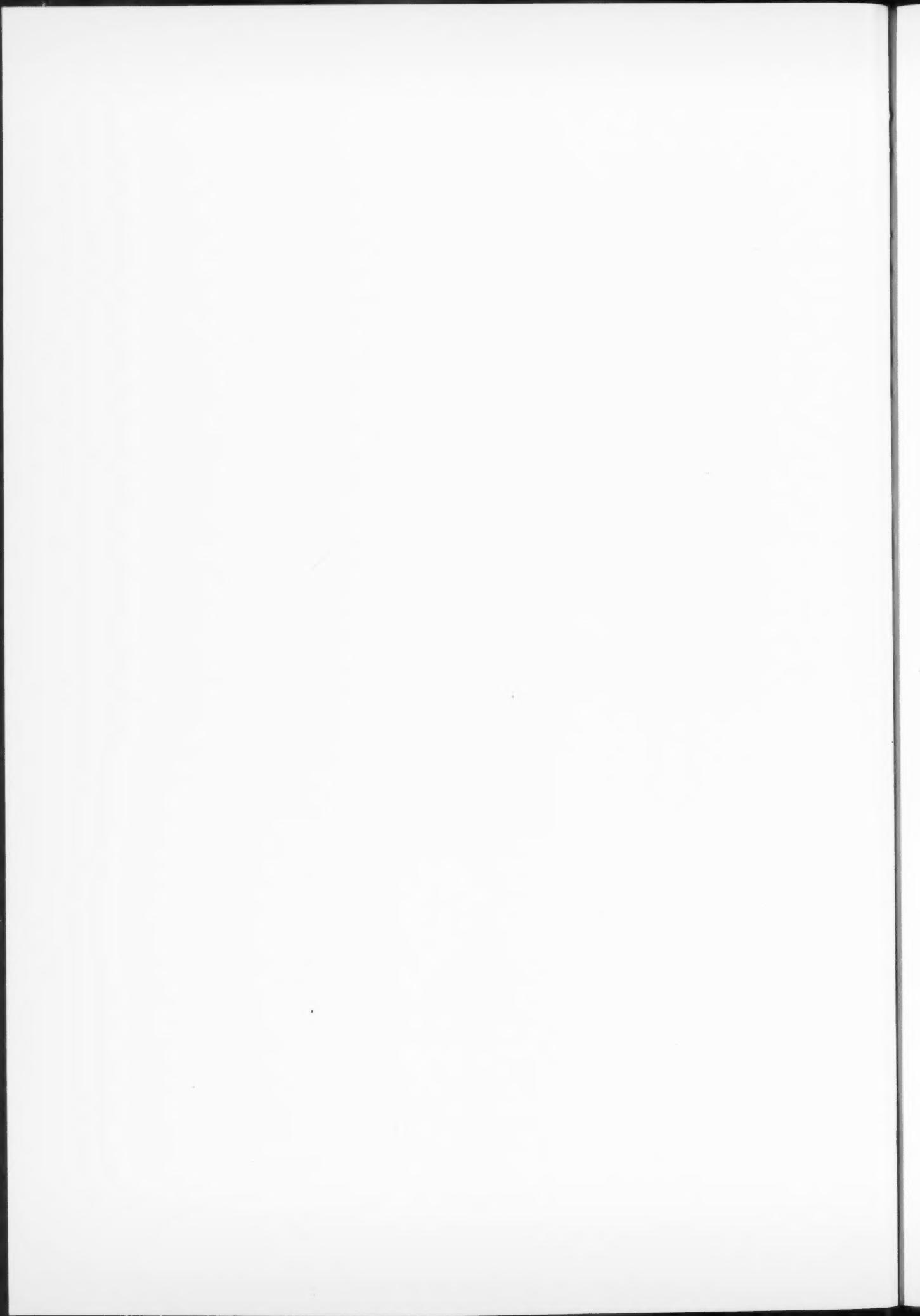
The Ehrich Gallery Archives



JOHN BARRY
By Matthew Pratt

MILDRED AND CATHARINE WASHINGTON
By Matthew Pratt





at half-length, standing before a reddish brown wall, which appears black in the shadow at the left. Beyond, at the right, is a view of a naval action between an American and an English ship, taking place in the early evening, the reddish glow of the sunset still lighting the horizon. Captain Barry's red coat with large red and gold buttons and the reddish wall behind him make an admirable setting for the head. The naval battle of which we get a glimpse sufficiently indicates his profession.

John Barry, born in Tacumshane, county Wexford, Ireland in 1745, died in Philadelphia, September 13, 1803. He followed the sea from childhood, making his home in Philadelphia at the age of fifteen, and acquired wealth as the master of a vessel. He offered his services to Congress at the opening of the Revolutionary War, (his own words,) "abandoning the finest ship and the first employ in America" and in February 1776, was given the command of the "Lexington" in which he made the first capture of a British war vessel accomplished by an American cruiser. He was then transferred to the frigate "Effingham." During the winter of 1776 while navigation was closed, he commanded a company of volunteers and assisted in the operations at Trenton with some heavy artillery. For some time he acted as aide-de-camp to Gen. Cadwalader. In 1778 he was assigned to command the "Raleigh", which was pursued and driven on shore by a British squadron after making a gallant resistance. After carrying Lafayette and Noailles to France, he cruised in the West Indies and in the early part of 1792 fought a sharp battle with an English ship until the appearance of a superior force compelled him to desist, to avoid capture. On the establishment of the new navy in 1794, he was named the senior officer, with the rank of commodore. He commanded the frigate "United States," the building of which he had superintended.

JEREMIAH DUMMER
Gold-and Silversmith and Limner
BY FREDERICK W. COBURN
Lowell, Mass.

When Judge Samuel Sewall, Puritan diarist, made record, 24 May, 1718, "Went home very comfortably and found all well, Laus Deo, Thursday Capt. Dummer dies," he doubtless did not purpose to write a Janus-phrase which could be construed as thanking heaven that his cousin and close personal friend had passed on". The *Boston News-Letter*'s obituary, certainly, of 2 June, following, would not have justified such interpretation. It said: "On the 25th past departed this life Jeremiah Dummer, Esq., in the 73rd year of his age, after a long retirement, under great infirmities of age and sickness; having served his country faithfully in several public stations, and obtained of all that knew him the character of a just, virtuous and pious man; and was honorably interred on Thursday last." Thus at Boston during the lieutenant governorship of his son William died one of the indubitable gentlemen of Puritan New England. He was likewise its versatile craftsman and publicist: goldsmith, engraver, limner, magistrate, military man, ship owner, philanthropist. He was a socially important person. Son of a wealthy and public spirited founder of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he became the father of a foremost English jurist and of an acting governor of the Commonwealth. He is figured forth, withal, only in the most recent historical publications, as in the new *Dictionary of American Biography*, as being, probably, the first American born artist-painter.

Dummer's public career is more easily traced than is the record of his artistry. His will, on file at the Suffolk county courthouse, does not mention his occupation or order any disposition of the tools of his trade. It merely divides his real and personal property among his children, leaves 10 pounds "unto my worthy friend Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, minister," and appoints as executors his son William and his daughter Ann Powell. In print and in manuscript may be found a few references to Dummer as "goldsmith." His state, church and commercial services are of far more voluminous record, causing wonder if perhaps he did not hire others to do at his shop in Kilby Street much of the work that bears his name. That, however, is cautious conjecture. Extant silverwork, paper currency and portraits seem to prove that Jeremiah

Dummer was the Puritan artist par excellence. His was beyond peradventure one of the finest spirits of the Puritan era.

Richard Dummer, the artist's father, an English gentleman of wealth, "sat down at Roxbury" in 1632. He acquired three years later large properties on the Merrimack river at Newbury. He was a friend and partisan of Governor Sir Henry Vane; an opponent of the sturdy and opinionated Governor Winthrop. When, however, under the latter's management, the colony was insolvent, Richard Dummer made the largest single contribution toward covering the deficit. His first wife was an adherent of Anne Hutchinson, who died under distressing circumstances related by a contemporary as evidence of her essential sinfulness. Richard Dummer married in 1644 Frances Burr, widow of Rev. Jonathan Burr, of Dorchester. She was Jeremiah Dummer's mother. Of his upbringing in her home nothing has been ascertained.

"1st of 5th (1659)," wrote John Hull in his diary, published by the American Antiquarian Society, "I received Jeramy (correct) Dummer and Samuel Paddy to serve me as apprentices for eight years. The Lord make me faithful in discharge of this new trust committed to me and let his blessing be to me and them." Thus did the mint master, maker of pine tree shillings, record his contract to give sound training to sons of his neighbors, Mr. Richard Dummer and Deacon William Paddy. How these boys learned their trade in the Hull & Sanderson shop can only be conjectured. It was thorough instructing from a clever craftsman. Hull was also a man of wide acquaintance, and through him young Dummer may have made contacts that later were useful. Only one other reference in the Hull diary, names Jeremy, as follows: "6th, 12th (1665). Jer. Dummer fell ill of the same disease (small pox, then prevalent in Boston); restored also in about three weeks."

Presumably before 1671 Jeremiah Dummer set up in business for himself. He joined in that year the Honorable Artillery Company. He appears on the tax list for 1674, paying 13 shillings for "toune" and 14 shillings for "countie." In 1677 he bought from Elder Thomas Leverett land at what is now the corner of Congress and Kilby streets where, doubtless, he had both home and shop. He lived here until 1716.

Dummer's marriage in 1672 to Anna Atwater brought him into the family circle of the "busy trader," Joshua Atwater. This was a pluto-cratic alliance, of that time. Atwater's, with its charge account system extended to the first families of Boston, was a predecessor of "Jordan's" and "Filené's" of today. From Plymouth in 1670 Rev. John Cotton wrote to his mother in Boston: "I would entreat you to buy for me two

skains of black silk, 3 yds of black cotton ribband, 6 yards of green galloon, 4 yds of black strong coarse ribband; if you take up at Mr. Atwater's shop & adde them to my account, I will pay him for all together in the "spring." Atwater later was in trade in Connecticut, and Dummer engraved the paper currency for that colony.

Four children arrived at the Dummer home in rapid succession. They were Samuel, who in early life acquired a fortune in the West India trade, who served as high sheriff of Middlesex county, Massachusetts, and who developed at Wilmington a fine estate surrounding the cemetery of which his is still the most conspicuous gravestone; William, afterwards lieutenant governor and acting governor of Massachusetts, founder of Dummer Academy, Byfield; Jeremy, educated at Harvard and at Utrecht, Holland, who settled in England where he represented the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies as agent and otherwise qualified as an able jurist; Ann, who became Mrs. John Powell, an ancestor of many Americans and Canadians now living.

Dummer's long record of office holding, of administration of law and order in the then riotous little seaport of Boston, began in 1675 when "at a publique meetinge of the inhabitants of this towne upon lawfull warninge" were elected "Constables for Bostone, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer," and several others. This constabulary job was evidently not a sinecure. By stern order of the Great and General Court Dummer and the other constables were bidden to look into the habits of several persons "for preventinge excessive drinkinge & disorder in private houses, etc." The list of these suspected citizens ends, interestingly, with the name of a deacon: It follows: James Braddinge, Thomas Clarke, junr., Francis Douce, Joseph Davis, James Greene, Thomas Watkins, John Woodmansey, Edward Goodwine, James Hill, Benj. Negus, Thomas Pecke, John Tappinge, Ephraim Savadge, John Wing, Deacon Bracket.

The trade in precious metals which Jeremiah Dummer pursued made it appropriate that in 1682-3 when gold mines were rumored to be in secret operation in Massachusetts he was appointed by the General Court "minister of mines," with instructions to be particular that the king received the one-fifth part due him from any deposits of gold or silver mined in his colonies. Although a silver mine of poor quality was worked at Newbury at an early date it is not supposed that Dummer's job as mining inspector was onerous. Neither did he experience anything more unpleasant than an interesting junket when in July, 1699, he was of the council that examined an inventory of the treasures believed

to have been hidden by Captain William Kidd, alleged pirate. The Earl of Bellomont then appointed Dummer to the commission which visited Gardiner's Island, Maine. The commissioners took from Mrs. Gardiner a jeweled cradle blanket, said, or fabled, to have been presented to Capt. Kidd by the Great Mogul.

Dummer in 1680 had been made a freeman. He attained in those years to a captaincy in the Artillery Company, now the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, but when the militia was reorganized in 1686 he was one of the four captains who were not reappointed. He was a member of the "Council for the safety of the people and conservation of the peace" during the acrimonies that followed this demotion. In Massachusetts Archives (CXXVI, 83, 200) are two petitions of Jeremiah Dummer and others, addressed to Governor Sir Edmond Andros. On March 9, 1690-1 at town meeting Dummer was elected a selectman, an office to which he was re-elected. He served for many years as a justice of the peace and lesser magistrate, adjudicating such cases as this one amusingly reported by Judge Sewall: "1706. Tuesday, Apr. 23.—Govr comes to Town guarded by the troops wth yr swords drawn; dines at the Dragon, from thence proceeds to ye Townhouse; Illuminations at night. Capt. Belsham tells me several wore Crosses in yr Hats wch made me resolve to stay at home, tho' Maxwell was at my house and spoke to me to be at the Council-Chamber at 4 p. m. Because to drinking Healths, now the keeping of a Day to fictitious St George is plainly set on foot. It seems Capt. Dudley's men wore Crosses. Somebody had fastened a Cross to a Dog's head; Capt. Dudley's Boatman, seeing him, struck the Dog and then went into ye Shop next where ye Dog was and struck down a Carpenter, one Davis, as he was at work not thinking anything. Boatswain and ye other were fined 10 s each for breach of ye peace by Jer. Dummer, Esqr. Pretty much blood was shed by means of ye bloody Crosses, and ye poor Dog a Sufferer."

In 1691, if the inscriptions on the back of two portraits now belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Hamlen, of Boston, the latter a Dummer descendant, are authentic, Dummer limned likenesses of himself and wife. One of these portraits is inscribed:

"Jeremiah Dummer Pinx,
Del in Anno 1691.
Mei Effigies, Aetat 46."

On the back of the other portrait may be read:

Effigies Anna Dummer, Aetat 39.

Depicta a Jeremiah Dummer

Anno Dom. 1691."

Since these portraits, whose inscriptions were first announced by Frank W. Bayley, of Boston, after the pictures had been brought to him by a descendant of Samuel Dummer, had their initial publication in a New York Times article by F. W. Coburn, July 24, 1921, rather extensive research has failed to uncover any contemporary reference to Dummer's limning abilities. Sewall, his cousin, does not refer to Capt. Dummer as an artist. The handwriting, however, of the inscriptions is so like that on numerous documents signed by Jeremiah Dummer that it has been accepted as genuine by curators of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the New England Society for Preservation of New England Antiquities. The canvases, together with their pedigree, were published in an article by Mr. Bayley in the latter society's journal, "Old Time New England." The attribution has not been questioned in the intervening years.

Five portraits that have been definitely attributed to Dummer are the likenesses of himself and his wife, owned by Mr. and Mrs. Hamlen; of John Coney and wife, owned by Henry D. Sleeper, Esq., of Boston, these reproduced and described in *ART IN AMERICA*, Aug. 1930; a portrait of Thomas Fitch (1668-1737), in the Sears museum, Elgin, Ill. The last named, which is here reproduced, is a comparatively recent discovery. The sitter, son of Thomas and Martha (Fiske) Fitch, was prominent in politics and the militia: a selectman of Boston, 1703-5; a representative in the General Court in 1709, 1711 and 1712; a councillor, 1715-30; successively major, lieutenant and colonel and colonel in a Boston regiment; a long-time member of the Old South Church who in 1731 presented it with a new set of flagons for the communion table. Fitch married Abiel, daughter of Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, John Eliot's associate in missionary work among the Indians. He was a man likely to be in the circle of Dummer's personal friends.

The five portraits seem to have come from the same hand. They are obviously not the work of a bungler or uninstructed amateur, though they are of a somewhat labored technique. The heads are good in proportion and character. The skin is leathery, and the blackish halftones contribute toward a certain dinginess of aspect which may not be altogether due to the antiquity of the canvases. These technical defects



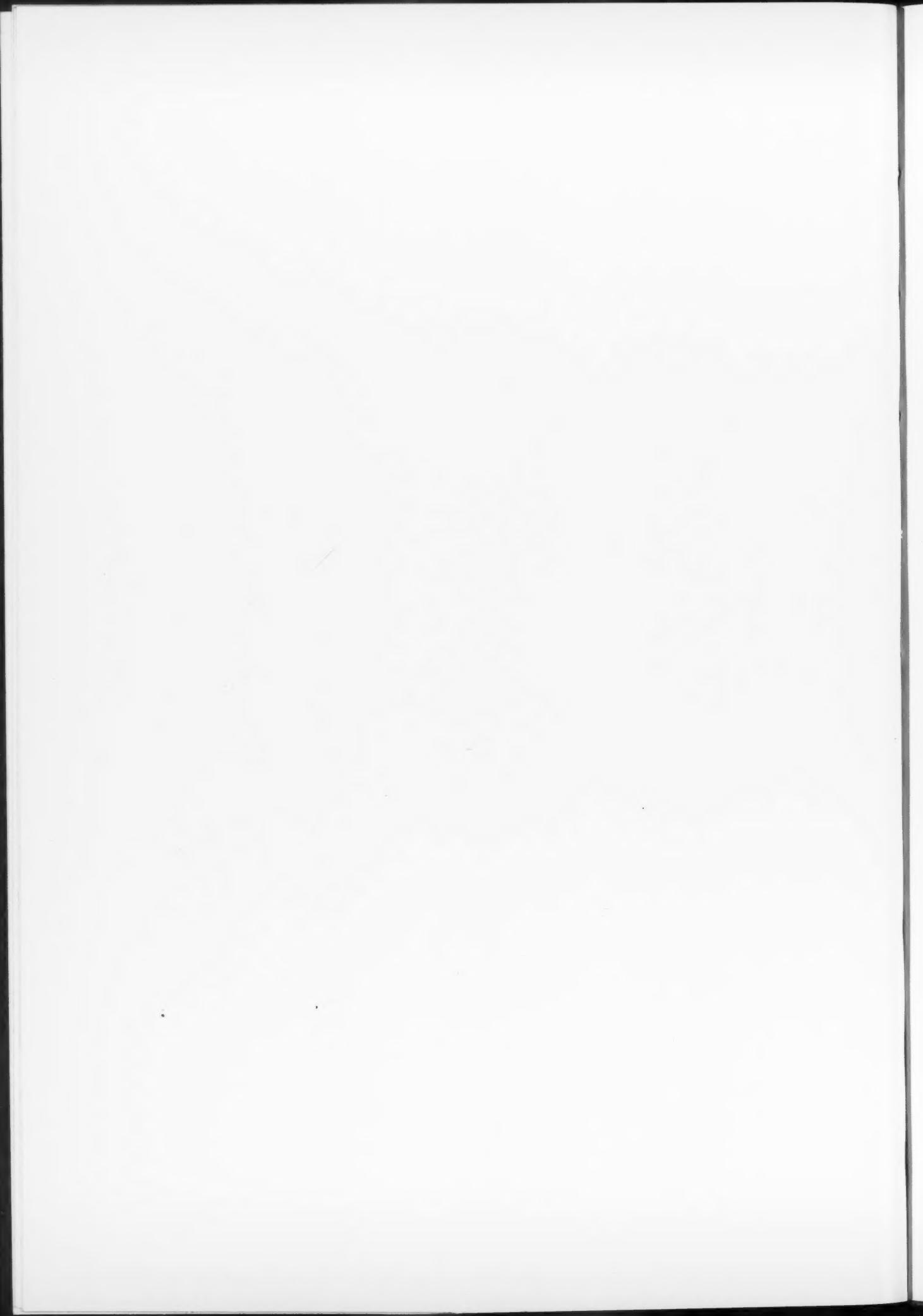
ANNA ATWATER DUMMER (WIFE OF THE ARTIST)
By Jeremiah Dummer



PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST
By Jeremiah Dummer

Property of Mr. Paul Mascarene Hamlen







THOMAS FITCH
By Jeremiah Dummer
The Sears Museum, Elgin, Illinois





conceded, the portraits ascribed to Jeremiah Dummer, born nearly a century before Copley, must be thought admirable works of art. They can hardly have been the only portraits from this hand. Several other canvases of the period, set like these in oval frames which appear to have come from the same shop, are under suspicion as probably by Dummer—if, indeed, he actually did limn. How he learned the art has not been discovered. He could have been taught by his contemporary Thomas Child, formerly of the Painter Stainers' Guild, London, whose shop was in what now is Hanover street, North End. Child is mentioned familiarly as "Tom Child" in Sewall's diary. Evert Duyckinck, the New Amsterdam painter, was in Boston in the 1680's when he made the portrait of Governor William Stoughton, now at the Boston Athenaeum.

Strength and simplicity of design, exquisiteness of surface, mark Dummer's silver as it has survived in many pieces. It may not be fanciful to see in a caudle cup and beaker, now of the permanent collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a more impressionistic, a more painter-like quality than is notable in most colonial silver. Dummer pieces can be studied in the great collections at Boston, New York and New Haven. Accurate descriptions of several of them are in Francis Hill Bigelow's "Historic Silver of the Colonies." A complete catalogue of the extant works in silver bearing the "J. D." monogram is still to be made.

A sidelight on Dummer's standing in the community as gold and silver smith of varied activities is thrown by entries, apparently previously unpublished, in Mass. Archives, V. 113, 337, which concern the weighing and disposal of plate bequeathed by Capt. Edward Willey, of Boston. The circumstances which brought Capt. Dummer into this case as an appraiser appear in the following:

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston the 22nd of February 1709.

"Upon reading a petition of Messrs. Thomas Palmer Esqr., and William Welsteed, Two of the Overseers of the Poor in the town of Boston, praying an order of this Board (the Supream ordinary) that the Town may be repaid their Expence & Disburst, amounting to Thirty six pounds & upwards, for the maintenance and support of Elisabeth Willey, Daughter of Capt. Edward Willey late of Boston deceased, for near the Space of five years past, out of the Plate and Rings in the hands of Samuel Sewall Esqr and other moveables & personal Estate laying elsewhere bequeathed by the sd. Capt. Willys for the maintenance and

Support of the sd. Elisabeth & her Daughter Ruth Wylley—On consideration of the Will of the sd. Capt. Willys; ordered That the Plate and Rings in the hands of Saml. Sewall Esqr be weighed by Jeremy Dummer Esqr Goldsmith in presence of sd. Mr. Sewall and the Petitionrs; an accompt thereof taken to be signed by them; and that the sd Plate, Rings, other moveables and Personal Estate, be exposed to sale for the most they will fetch by the sd Gentlemen, to answer the past Charges of the support and maintenance of the sd. Elisabeth and Ruth; The acct. of the whole to be ld. before this board for Approbation, and that the sd Mr. Sewall and others intrusted with the Care of any of the sd may be discharged thereof.

"Isaac Addington—Secry

The story is continued, in the words of Secretary Addington (1645-1715,) whose portrait now at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, conceivably may have been painted by Dummer:

"By Virtue of an Order of ye Council of 22 Feby 1709 Thomas Palmer Esq. and Wm. Welsteed (then) two of the Overseers of the Poor of Boston, received of the Hon. Samuel Sewall Esqr Plate, Two Rings & a Pearl Necklace belonging to Elisabeth Willey to be disposed of in order to pay her Debt to ye Town for Several years Subsistence &

"Pursuant to the above order the Plate was Sold to mr. John Tuck April ye 12th next following for £ 39: 7: no s. — £ 39:7

And paid to ye Overseers of the Poor

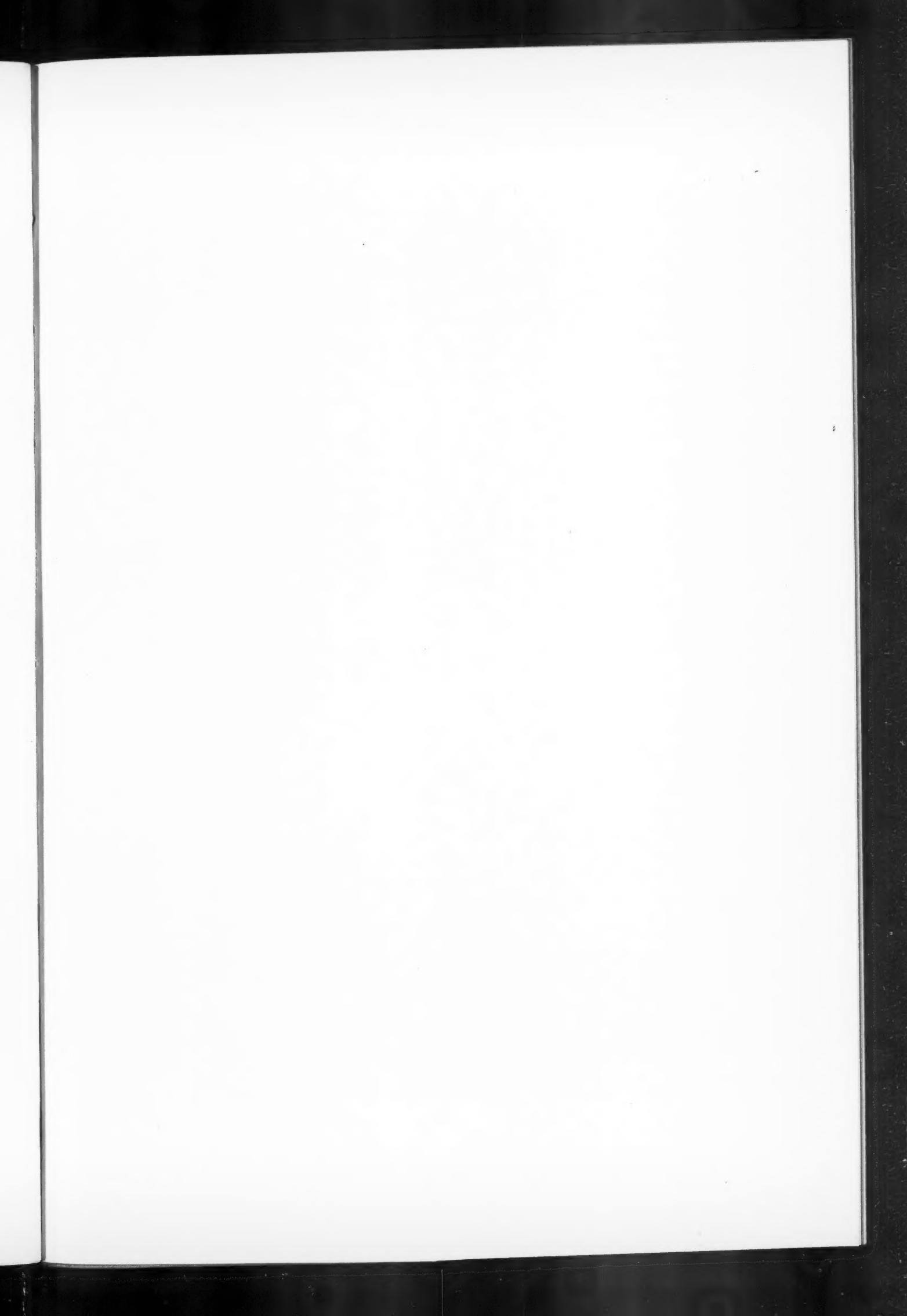
36. 17. 9

£ 2: 9: 3

"October 24th 1715. Delivered to Mr. Oliver then one of the Overseers of ye Poor to disburse for Clothing for her, being then out of ye Almshouse, in great want, the above Sum of 2: 9 :3

"The Necklace & two Rings are yet undisposed of which it is humbly moved that the honble L. Gov. & Council would please to direct to whom they shall be delivered."

Numerous other items concerning Capt. Jeremiah Dummer, collated from the printed and manuscript literature of his era, confirm an impression that besides being an able artist he was a paragon of civic virtue. He figures in the aid which Boston extended to English settlers of the Bahamas dispossessed by the Spaniards. He lent money to his church, which seems not to have been repaid. He interested himself in the funeral of boys drowned while skating on Fresh Pond, Cambridge.





The Ehrich Gallery Archives

AN UNIDENTIFIED GENTLEMAN AND HIS WIFE

By Robert Field

Property of a New York Collector



In May, 1715, he placed his sedan at the disposal of the newly arrived governor, Samuel Shute. He was clearly more than an active and artistic goldsmith. He was a public benefactor.

TWO NEWLY DISCOVERED WATERCOLOR PORTRAITS

BY ROBERT FIELD

By FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

New York City

Robert Field's watercolor portraits are the rarest of his works, Harry Piers in his exhaustive book on the artist listing but ten of them against over fifty "oils" and sixty odd miniatures on ivory. To these ten watercolor portraits I am now able to add two more, representing an unidentified ship owner or seafaring man and, presumably, his wife; the former signed and dated, 1801, and the latter probably of the same year. In the likeness of the man cross hatching is freely used and to evident artistic advantage throughout the darker passages of color. The painter's initials and the date appear at the right of the head, "R.F. 1801." In the likeness of the woman the cross hatching, not so finely managed appears almost wholly in the darker portion of the curtain above the sitter's head. Both are painted as ovals, $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches high by $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide on rectangles 10 inches high by $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide, the former of cardboard and the latter of heavy paper.

Except for the very beautiful Francis Dana, reproduced in photogravure in Mr. Piers volume the present portrait of the man is unquestionably Field's finest likeness in this medium. The color scheme, a harmony in blues and grays provides an admirable foil for the head, which appears against it to noticeable advantage. The sitter, turned to the left, facing front, with his eyes to the spectator, has light brown curly hair, hazel eyes and fair complexion, faint traces of the original pink showing in his face and red still discernible in his lips and about the nostrils. He wears a coat of soft greenish blue, with pale grayish green buttons and a wide turnover collar of deep blue plush, a white stock, tie and linen frill. In the background the glimpse of the sea at the left, showing a ship in the offing, with the blue of the cloud flecked sky above relieves the dark of the rock towering at the right and extending into the left foreground.

The companion picture of the woman, from the fact that it is identical in form and size and from the further fact that she is turned the other way, facing him, we may infer is a portrait of his wife. At the period companion portraits of man and wife were almost invariably painted in this manner. Of the present sitter we may say that her regular features, fine complexion, blue eyes and luxuriant dark hair proclaimed her a real beauty and it is her beauty alone which constitutes the real appeal of this picture. She is shown, facing front, eyes to the spectator and has dark brown hair, parted in the middle and hanging low at the right of her neck, light blue eyes and pink, almost reddish complexion. Her dress, of the Empire type, is of white linen with a yoke of double ruffling and she has a light shawl about her right shoulder. The background, except for a glimpse of landscape with a winding stream, beneath a light sky at the right, is occupied entirely by a great red curtain drawn to the left, with two red tassels hanging at the right. This color scheme of reds, is obviously too high in key and the effect almost gaudy. Because of it the portrait barely manages to achieve distinction. It must be added that the omission of a high light in the eyes of this sitter is unusual for the artist.

IN MEMORIAM

Henry Walters Mortimer H. Schiff Michael Friedsam

FOR MANY YEARS FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF THIS MAGAZINE

